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**THE NEXT MILLENNIUM CONFERENCE:
Ending Domestic Violence
Opening Celebration: Barbara Hart
August 29, 1999**

Page 1
BOS: kmc

Side 1

WILLIAM D. RILEY: --the conference. This confirms it. It's my pleasure to introduce to you tonight your Mistress of Ceremonies, and as someone who has provided me with both direction and guidance and advice and when I've been wise enough to take it has always benefitted me. Ann Rosewater is Counselor to the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. In her current position Ms. Rosewater serves as the Secretary's principal advisor on issues whose scope cuts across agencies within the department and across departments including domestic violence, children exposed to violence, early childhood development and health, and strengthening the department's capacity to improve health, social and economic development at the local level. She is also a member of the National Advisory Council on Violence Against Women chaired by the Secretary and the Attorney General and until recently chaired the department Steering Committee on Violence Against Women.

Other positions Ms. Rosewater has held with HHS include Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Services Policy in the Office of Planning and Evaluation and Deputy Assistant Secretary for External and for Policy -- sorry -- for Policy and External Affairs in(?) the Administration for Children

and Families. What you should know and what I feel very proud of, and it's my link to the early beginnings of my experience in the domestic violence area, is that Ms. Rosewater was also a principal architect of the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act. It is indeed my pleasure to present to you tonight your Mistress of Ceremonies, Ms. Ann Rosewater. (APPLAUSE)

ANN ROSEWATER: Thank you so much, Bill. It's an honor to join all of you tonight at this wonderful celebration banquet and to have the 911 Mambo Jazz Ensemble usher us into this dinner, but since you were kind enough to introduce me, Bill, you've given me my one moment tonight to say a personal word of thanks to you. Bill Riley with whom I have had the pleasure of working over the past six years has been a force in building the infrastructure and capacity of the battered women's movement. (APPLAUSE) Most importantly, he has listened to you in all of your diversity. He has learned from you. He has taught you so much, and I know he has taught me, and he has represented and protected your interests. Bill Riley represents the best of public service, and I am proud to call him both a colleague and a friend. (APPLAUSE)

Now before we eat let me call on Rabbi _____
Settle(?) of Seattle, Washington, to make an invocation
before we begin our dinner. (APPLAUSE)

RABBI SETTLE: Hi. I'd like to ask each of you to -- if it's left on your table -- to take a roll, piece of bread, and when I'm finished to break that bread and share it with one another. As we gather to nourish our bodies, let us remember to also nourish our spirits making this time together one of connection and renewal, gathering strength from the commitment, passion and love we see in each other, honoring those who grew, harvested and prepared our food, honoring those whose lives inspire our work. May we taste the sweetness of our companionship, and may this time of community together nourish the hope that sustains us all.

_____. (APPLAUSE)

MS. ROSEWATER: --an old African proverb that says to celebrate is to remember. How many people remember a time when there was no safe house in your community? I see some hands raised. Can I hear you?

... (INAUDIBLE)

MS. ROSEWATER: Well, the opening of a shelter or a safe house in a community was more than providing a roof over her head for the woman fleeing in the middle of the night with three children in tow and barely enough money for bus fare. That was important enough, but it was a statement, a public statement, that there is safety, and we're not going to tolerate this violence anymore. Now we can count thousands of shelters and safe houses, and what has changed

dramatically as well is how much more shelters and other domestic violence programs are doing. Now these are multi-service programs running support groups not only for those for whom they provide physical refuge but for people who aren't living there. They run groups for teenagers, children's services; training for professionals and organizations and volunteers and interventions for men. Okay. How many people remember when the local police hardly ever investigated what they referred to as domestic disputes?

... (INAUDIBLE)

MS. ROSEWATER: I can hear you. Now, according to a New York Times report just earlier this week, New York City alone has 300 police specifically dedicated to a special domestic violence unit. (APPLAUSE) How many people remember raffles and bake sales to raise money for local shelters and services?

... (INAUDIBLE)

MS. ROSEWATER: Now federal resources alone top hundreds of millions of dollars. How many of you remember when only a hearty band of elected officials heard your voices? I certainly do. In 1979, when I first went to work on Capitol Hill for California Congressman George Miller, members of Congress laughed when we brought up the subject of women battering. Now we have a significant framework of

laws and policies to provide protection for victims of abuse and accountability for perpetrators. Now elected officials compete with each other to sign onto legislation addressing violence against women. Now we have a President and a First Lady, Vice-President Gore and Mrs. Gore, the leading law enforcement official in the nation, Attorney General Janet Reno, and the nation's highest health and human services official, Donna Shalala, leading the way. Many, many people have contributed to this movement for social and economic justice, this movement for the most fundamental of human rights, to live in dignity and free from harm.

First, of course, are the brave battered women who spoke out, who brought this out of the dark corners and into the light, and their neighbors who gave them safe havens. All these changes are a result of the courage of survivors who came forward, who spoke out, who brought their private pain into public places. These changes are the result of hundreds of thousands of people, mostly women, who helped each other, who set up services and supports because, let's face it, there was no system out there to help them, and these changes have come from the theorists and the thinkers, strategists and lawyers, policymakers and, yes, politicians, too. Now you have brought to these ranks doctors and nurses, teachers and business leaders, and representatives of the media, police and prosecutors and judges and clergy.

You have brought young and old, wealthy and poor, people of color, immigrants and refugees, individuals with disabilities, people from cities, small towns and rural areas. A community of men who want to call a halt to this violence is joining these ranks as well. All of these changes are a direct result of the people in this room and your brothers and sisters around the country who made this not just a personal problem, not just a family problem, but a crime and an issue for state and national attention and redress.

It's fitting then to ask ourselves where will we be 30 years from now? Who will be at that anniversary celebration? I imagine that the legions will include domestic violence advocates in significant numbers from child care and Head Start programs and schools, from housing assistance and job development enterprises, from local, national and global businesses, every facet of the vast health enterprise, and many, many other corners of our everyday world. I imagine that our children, our grandchildren, and the young people here who spoke so eloquently today of their vision -- they spoke through words, they spoke through movement -- I imagine that they will grow up with the understanding that violence is not a way to solve problems and that being a victim of violence is unacceptable and should not be tolerated. They will learn

that relationships with peers, girls and boys, boys and boys, girls and girls, require cooperation and caring and that domination of one person by another, whether physical, sexual or emotional, does not contribute to love and harmony. I imagine that they will grow up in safe spaces at home, at school and on the streets. And I can imagine that to a much greater extent communities will own this problem, creating networks of protection, caring neighbors and friends who can help stem these behaviors before they begin. The communities are everywhere, where we work, where we play, where we learn, where we grow up, even in cyberspace where we now communicate. They may be communities of color or diverse nationalities. The community may be Chicago's north side. It may be the south side. It may be Oak Park. It may be Hyde Park.

So, this evening is the opportunity to celebrate, to celebrate this national community that has gathered and to celebrate those who couldn't be here with us but have made such important contributions. This is an awesome group, nearly 2,000 strong and more we had to turn away. So, the core is vital and growing, the chorus getting louder, more harmonious and more strategic. We often don't get a chance to reflect on our accomplishments, but it's important to take time to consider where we've come from and where we need to go. It's important to say that we have done some

good work and to recognize the changes we have made together, the victories we have won. The fact is there have been significant strides. We have moved mountains. This is the time for everyone here to stand up, take a bow, give yourselves a big round of applause. (APPLAUSE) This conference is designed to give us all new energy and renewal, to motivate and inspire people to the next level of work we know we must take on, and this crowd demonstrates that we are not alone. We have so many colleagues and collaborators, friends and soulmates who are committed to healing battered women and their children that we can take on even bigger trips across even bigger mountains. This is a group of people that have had great impact. You deserve our praise and our gratitude. Your actions deserve to be remembered and celebrated, and, of course, I was going to say later in the evening you deserve to have lots and lots of fun, but you preempted me. So, I can't say that.

Let's have the evening begin with several acknowledgements and thank-you's to the so many people who helped make this conference, this historic conference, possible. First, of course, is the Department of Health and Human Services of the United States, its Administration for Children and Families, the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control of CDC, and the Public Health Services Office on Women's Health, and our partners --

Department of Justice, the Violence Against Women Office, and the National Institute of Justice, both in the Office of Justice programs. Several corporate co-sponsors whom we want to thank for their generosity and their leadership are ones I want to mention, too: The Chicago Foundation for Women; the City of Chicago; the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence; Liz Claiborne, Incorporated -- thanks for their gifts at our table; the Polaroid Corporation whom we'll hear more from; the Sara Lee Foundation. Let's give them all a round of applause. (APPLAUSE)

And if you'll bear with me, I'd like to mention by name all of the members of the Chicago Host Committee. Of course, Mayor Richard Daley has been the honorary chair. We are so appreciative of his leadership, and his co-chair, John Schmidt(?) of Mayer, Brown & Platte(?). Mary Ann Childers(?) from WBBM TV. Vickii Coffey of Vickii Coffey & Associates who, as all of you know, has been the splendid coordinator of this conference. (APPLAUSE) Thank you to Vickii. (APPLAUSE) Superintendent Terry Hilyard(?), the Chicago Police Department. Cheryl Howard, Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence. (APPLAUSE) Leslie Landis again with the Chicago Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence and the advisory council there. Handy(?) Lindsay of the Field Foundation. The Honorable Richard A Devine, Office of the State's Attorney whom we will also hear from

in a minute. Amena(?) Dickerson of Kraft Foods, Incorporated, who went out of her way to help this effort. Daryl Handy of the Ameritech Corporation. Carrie(?) McMillan(?) of Arthur Andersen. Mary Mitchell of the Chicago Sun-Times. Bill Williams, the Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau. And, finally, Eleanor Williams from the Sara Lee Corporation. Thank you all so very much for your hospitality and for your extra efforts to make this conference such a success for all involved. (APPLAUSE)

You know there have been a very large number of supporting organizations, and they're listed in your program. I would just like to highlight a few from the Chicago area. Chicago Abused Women Coalition and their Greenhouse Shelter and the hospital. (APPLAUSE) Again, the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence Advisory Council and the City of Chicago. Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers and their Advocacy Project. The Mayor's Office and the City of Chicago, their special Office on Special Events. Family Rescue, Ridgeland, their Transitional Housing, Incorporated, program. And, of course, the Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence. These groups and programs include women and children living the experience of battering and abuse. They generously helped set the objectives for the conference program, and we owe them our gratitude. (APPLAUSE)

Now it is my privilege to introduce to you two very

special guests. After I introduce both of them, they will speak to you in succession. The first is Richard Devine. He currently serves as the State's Attorney of Cook County. He first joined the office in 1980 as First Assistant to State's Attorney Richard M. Daley. In that position he helped to create the gang crimes and narcotics units. During this time he also found time to argue cases including before the Illinois Supreme Court to argue successfully against Illinois' early release of violent criminals. In 1983 Mr. Devine returned to private law and eventually became a partner at Phelen, Pope, Cahill, Devine & Quinlan, but he didn't leave public service. He has served as a member of numerous commissions and committees involving the legal profession including the Special Commission on the Administration of Justice in Cook County, the Cook County Criminal Justice Project, and the Chicago Cook County Criminal Justice Commission. At the same time he has lectured extensively on the law. Dick Devine will share with us a local perspective on the accomplishments and the challenges of the battered women's movement.

Second, I'm pleased to present Karen Schuler. Karen is the marketing manager for Polaroid Corporation's law enforcement and family violence programs. She has contributed to expanding the corporation's role in providing education and training. Ms. Schuler has been with the

company for 12 years. She married, two children, two grandchildren, and a degree in history from the University of Massachusetts. Let me also publicly express our appreciation to Ms. Schuler's colleague at Polaroid, Jim Tierney, who couldn't be with us this evening, but we want to express our appreciation for all he has done to advance the domestic violence movement and particularly his dedication, along with Karen and others at Polaroid, to documenting this historic movement on film. Karen will introduce the video that Polaroid has so generously underwritten. Dick Devine, would you join me? (APPLAUSE)

RICHARD A. DEVINE: Thank you, Ann. Distinguished Speakers and Panelists and, most important, Advocates and Other Participants, it is my pleasure to welcome you to Chicago or should I say the Chicago area? There are no cows in downtown Rosemont, but please keep in mind that our celebrated parade of city bovines pasture only a taxi ride or shuttle bus away. I would like to point out that those -- all of us should not develop mind-sets that are too rigid, and that's especially true for those of us in public office. I'd like to share a story with you that points out the perils of being too rigid in our attitudes, and it concerns a battleship on which a man named Frank Koch(?) served in World War II, and Mr. Koch(?) related this story. The battleship was out on the seas, and it was foggy

evening. So, the captain was up on the bridge with Mr. Koch(?). They saw a light off the starboard bow that was not moving, and this was a dangerous situation in the captain's mind. So, he told the signalman to signal the ship to change course 20 degrees. The signal went out from the battleship and came back a reply, and the reply was suggest you change course 20 degrees. Well, the captain was a little upset at this, so he said send out a signal that says I'm a captain, suggest you change course 20 degrees. The signal went out. A few minutes later a signal came back, and the signal from the light was I'm a seaman second class. You change course 20 degrees. By this time the captain was very upset. The captain had spoke, and he got a response that he was not at all happy with. So, he said in a very stern fashion to the signalman send out a signal I am a battleship, change course 20 degrees. The signal went out. Couple of minutes the signal came back. His signalman came up to him and said signal, sir, is I'm a lighthouse, suggest you change course 20 degrees. (LAUGHTER) The battleship changed course. (LAUGHTER) The point of that story is that if we focus too much on what we believe has to be there or the way things were, we can get into trouble.

I'd like to take a moment to reflect on the fact that we have changed our mind-set on domestic violence and also to point out some meaningful accomplishments that bring us

to the threshold of a new millennium. Not the least of these is that the last decade in particular has been a time of great awareness, progress and advancement among those of us in the law enforcement community. There has been a recognition that domestic violence happens, a recognition that domestic violence is serious, a recognition that domestic violence is a crime. I am proud to say that in Chicago in particular we have come a long way from the days when domestic violence was considered a private matter to be resolved behind closed doors. We have advocates everywhere, many of you in this room, to thank for that progress. As I say repeatedly when I go around the Cook County area to talk about what we have been doing, for many years it was only the advocates who were waving the flag and saying this is something serious that has to be dealt with. Law enforcement -- (APPLAUSE). Thank you. Give yourselves a hand. (APPLAUSE) Law enforcement has seen the light. It is a night-and-day difference from the time I was in the State's Attorney's Office back in the early 1980s, and I want to commend you, all of you, for investing long and tiring hours in a committed effort to enlighten others, including our office, who did not always share your concerns or your visions, but we are not finished. I say we because in my view one of the most important accomplishments that we take with us into the next millennium is that we are

learning to work as partners -- police, prosecutors and advocates -- and in committing to work as partners all of us are doing a much better job of holding offenders accountable and working to keep victims safe. Finding better ways to respond to domestic violence in the community became one of my top priorities as the Cook County State's Attorney. I had come to understand the depth and the dynamics of these complicated cases. For years advocates in our community had called for improvement in the prosecution of domestic violence cases. We have listened, and with listening we created the first-ever domestic violence division in the Cook County State's Attorney's Office. Today that unit is staffed with 28 Assistant State's Attorneys who commit up to two years of their careers in our office to handle domestic violence cases. (APPLAUSE) Unfortunately, we are continuing to be faced with an astounding number of domestic violence cases in our area, over 1100 new cases each week that these Assistant State's Attorneys work on, and it is important -- we have found it is extremely important that they make this commitment of at least two years because they then can have the training and the experience to understand the complexities, the emotions and the problems that each of these cases brings to us. In addition, they can go out and do go out to help train our police department.

The importance of partnering and innovation in the

response to domestic violence cannot in my view be overstated. The opportunity to share information at this conference is essential if we are to continue our search for the best methods and learn from what is accomplished in other programs in other places. Here in Chicago we are extremely grateful for grant funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice that allowed us to target high risk domestic violence cases with our target abuser call. The TAC call, as we refer to it, is a commitment to a partnership in which we have joined with investigators, service providers, advocates and civil legal support to work toward the most effective and responsible prosecution possible. This conference is an opportunity for all of us to renew our commitment to finding new and better ways to respond to domestic violence and to share important views, concerns and information that can benefit all of us. In fact, many of you in this room have already consulted with us on our TAC call, on how to improve it, on how to better it, on how to go forward in even more meaningful ways, and I thank each and every one of you both from the Cook County area and from Chicago and from around this country who have come in and consulted with us on this important project. This very impressive gathering tonight is an opportunity during this week to learn from each other, to learn how to do it better. I think we have made great strides in the

last decade, but we cannot be satisfied with that. We have a long way to go until every victim of domestic violence understands that there are people on the advocate side, on the law enforcement side, who understand the problems and can help and can help in that total way so that we not only help a victim get a little justice in this world but help them to turn their lives around. I am proud to be part of this conference. I am proud that our office is part of it. I am pleased to be here with you. I look forward to learning with you this week. Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

KAREN SCHULER: Good evening, everyone. It is with great pleasure that I am here tonight to introduce this documentary. Many of you have labored for years in the fight against domestic violence. Each of you has stories of how it once was, legal and social obstacles confronted daily, and the lack of available resources for victims. We wish there was enough time to share all that has been accomplished over the years. This video is a celebration of that work. Why does Polaroid feel it is so important to be involved in the battle against domestic violence and be a sponsor for this conference? Let me give you some history. As a company Polaroid has a long tradition of progressive human resource policies. 35 years ago Polaroid created an employee assistance program which is one of the oldest in

corporate America, thanks primarily to James Hardiman(?) who is in the audience tonight. (APPLAUSE) The Polaroid EAP provides counseling and support to employees on issues ranging from career development to substance abuse. Jim convinced Polaroid many years ago of the impact of family violence on the workplace and the need to accommodate employees who need time off to seek safety and protection, attend court appearances or arrange new housing. This was accomplished through short-term paid leaves of absence, extended unpaid leaves with guaranteed position upon return, and flexible work hours. Also, Polaroid's law enforcement program of which I have been a part for three-and-a-half years has been fortunate to work with many of you through our program of domestic violence documentation.

We have been training law enforcement and social service investigators, health care professionals and advocates on how to capture better photographic evidence. Our first training specific to domestic violence documentation was in 1993, and since then we have been privileged to train thousands of professionals committed to obtaining the evidence needed to ensure that batterers are prosecuted and convicted. Polaroid strongly advocates education as an effective solution to stemming the problem of domestic violence. We learned early that the strongest interactions stimulate vital sensitivity awareness. This is

best accomplished by bringing together people closest to the issue. Tonight we would like to thank all the people who shared their stories and expertise at our workshops and in our training materials -- the judges, the prosecutors, the survivors, the advocates, the law enforcement officers and medical personnel who in the sharing of their talents and knowledge gave our materials real relevance. We were honored when Vickii Coffey asked us to produce the video we're about to see. We have seen first-hand the strides that have been made in the fight against domestic violence. This video is a look at the past 25 years of those efforts. So much hard work went into this project. We want to thank not only the folks featured but also all who have worked behind the scenes and played a part in bringing it to life. This video is designed to commemorate your persistence and commitment over the past 25 years. Without your bravery and dedication to the movement there would not be a reason to celebrate tonight. More importantly, without you those who are still struggling with violence would not have so much reason to hope. Thank you, all. Now let's roll the tape.

(APPLAUSE) (VIDEOTAPE)

(END SIDE 1, BEGIN SIDE 2)

(VIDEOTAPE CONTINUED) (APPLAUSE)

MS. ROSEWATER: Clearly history has been made and history will continue to be made by this group as that documentary

so eloquently showed us. Well, I have been given the opportunity to introduce and welcome one of the movement's founding mothers, but I'm not sure that she needs any introduction after this documentary. I'm talking, of course, about Barbara Hart. Barbara, as most of you know, is the Legal Director of the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Associate Director of the Battered Women's Justice Project. Her words have been so eloquent. I think I just want to say that in the public policymaking and training and technical assistance on a whole range of issues that she has provided she has been involved in coordinated community intervention systems. She's developed and critiqued legislation. She has developed court procedures and program standards for battered treatment programs. She's really worked with the researcher practitioner nexus and tried to help people who study and reflect on the activities around the domestic violence movement understand from a practitioner perspective how their work is viewed, and it goes on and on. She's also a co-founder of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, as well as one of the founders of PCADV, and she served as a leader in the national effort to implement the Violence Against Women Act which I think comes through so vividly here.

I just want to add on a personal note, though, that

Barbara was one of the very first women I met who was involved in the struggle on behalf of abused women. I've, of course, been taking many cues from her every since. She has been an unflagging person in her commitment. She has stretched the limits of our legal strategies, and I've seen her even recently go toe-to-toe on this subject with the highest law enforcement officials in this nation. So, please join me in welcoming and thanking someone who has really been a gift to the movement, Barbara Hart.

(APPLAUSE)

BARBARA HART: Thank you. Thank you. Sit down. Enough. I need to credit Mary _____ for this dress. (LAUGHTER) She shopped for me for a whole afternoon. (LAUGHTER) You will note the shoes are mine. (LAUGHTER) You also saw that my neck is much fatter than Robin Hasler's(?). They tried to dress me up. (LAUGHTER) It's a privilege to be here, and truly you can't see anybody. So, it's like talking to myself which, as you know, I do a lot anyway. So -- (LAUGHTER). I am a blessed woman. I am also a battered woman. We are a blessed people. Count your blessings. Look around you. (APPLAUSE) As I was leaving home, my family said, well, who's going to be at this one? And I began to sort of tick off the names of the people, and they said, well, it's very kind of HHS and the Department of Justice to create a party just for you and your friends, and

I said yeah. (LAUGHTER) So, thank you. You are part of our blessing now, too. (APPLAUSE)

I am a freedom-loving woman. I am also a battered woman. We are a freedom-seeking people. I am a woman with great rage. I am also a battered woman. We are a people enraged against the tyranny of violence against women. I am a revolutionary woman. I am also a battered woman. We are political people intent on changing the world to end violence against women. I am a woman filled with love for battered women, children and their allies. I am a battered woman. We are a people with great compassion and great capacity to love those oppressed by male violence. I am a hopeful woman. I'm also a battered woman. We are a people hopeful that men who use violence to terrorize and dominate their partners, their children, and those who are different from them can learn respect from the women and all the oppressed people and can stop their violence. I'm a visionary woman. I am also a battered woman. We are people that vision social justice for ourselves, our children and grandchildren, that dream for freedom. I am a White woman. I am also a battered woman. We are a people of richly diverse races, cultures and national origins. I am an old woman. I am also a battered woman. We are a people spanning many generations. I am a daughter, sister, mother, grandmother, and spirit mother to many. We are a

family to each other. I am a woman of action. I am also a battered woman. We are people acting daily in small and enormous ways to end the violence and bring justice and safety to battered women. I am also a person that refuses to do public speaking unless I'm given a big chunk of time, at least an hour. (LAUGHTER) Do not fear. I have promised Vickii no more than 15 minutes. 10 minutes would be better, she said. (LAUGHTER) I hope that means I can finish within 20. (LAUGHTER) Oh, well.

I have been asked to reflect on the lessons that I have learned and that we as a movement have learned in the first quarter century of this organizing for social justice. The first lesson is I am here because of the many kindnesses and courage of uncelebrated heroines. These names you will not recognize. Karen Hammer and Norma Finkelstein(?) offered me shelter, helped me move, stood up to Lawrence Baldwin, and sat quietly with me in my unspeaking shame. Miriam Frank spent Sundays with me assuring me that I was a wonderful person, not a flawed, blameworthy woman. She absorbed the sun with me and read to me from the literature of women. Mildred Baldwin held a gun to her son and warned him that she'd shoot him if he hit me again. A sociology professor challenged me to journal for myself and collect the stories of other women. I walked the parks and streets of Detroit and heard experiences of many battered women. The

professor also urged me to construct solutions, to build community, to engage in revolutionary struggle to end domestic and sexual violence against women. Each of you can visualize those women in your lives that reached in and with quiet strength held you up. I honor all of them.

From my father I learned many things. This is the part where I usually start crying. So, if you're ready, you know, pick up those napkins. From my father I learned many things, including three critical questions that I now ask of battered women. First, what's wrong? Second, what can I do to help? Third, what can bring hope to you again? My father did not tell me what was wrong. He asked persistently but kindly. He did not tell me what to do. He encouraged me to identify my needs, my strategies. He did not assume that he had answers for me. His offer of assistance was unqualified. He urged me to vision, dream, and hope for a world free of the tyranny of battering and full of the power of my passion for social justice. He was faithful. He was a rock committed to the reclamation of my spirit. I honor him.

Carol taught me the important lesson that battered women can best assist the danger posed by batterers. She taught me risk markers of elevated life-threatening violence. She gave me a question that I have literally used in every interview with battered women since. So, what does

that behavior mean to you? So, what does that behavior mean to you? Batterer behavior that might seem innocuous or indifferent or just even stupid to third parties, even experienced advocates, broadcasts threats and danger to battered women. Because Carol was able to identify life-threatening risk, we were able to orchestrate an entire community to keep her alive. Her husband eventually killed himself leaving a detailed note in which he reported his despair and promised to kill her if he could find her. Everyone in that community stepped out of the box, employed new strategies. They protected Carol. Her employer, the police, the shelter staff, her parents, her friends, the children's school, her attorney and the courts all through the direction of Carol assisted to protect her and her children. I honor her and them.

Angelina taught me about courage, community and safety planning. She fled from Puerto Rico to save her life. Her batterer found her in New York and recaptured, enslaved and raped her. She fled again. She did not speak English. She had a sixth grade education, and she was the sole support of her five daughters, the last three of which -- of whom were children of his rapes. I learned from Angelina that each woman must construct her own safety plan, tailored to her own circumstances, based in the resources to which she has access, and each safety plan requires active, diligent work

by the entire community. Angelina, her daughters, her neighbors, her co-workers, the school, the police, all organized together for her safety. This safety organizing prevented CPS placement of the children, kept the batterer out of the neighborhood, enabled the successful negotiation of a hostage situation, interrupted several attempted homicides, and resulted in the incapacitation of the batterer. Angelina could not do it alone. She organized. I honor her and her daughters and neighbors and the safe community they built.

I have learned -- you will not believe this false modesty -- I have learned that I have never had an original thought and that my best thinking is with others. I have never written original work. It has all been derivative, derivative, drive from the movement and from the continuing rich lessons that you teach me daily. Thank you. The lesson I derived from this is that we must communicate, analyze, debate, de-construct, reconstruct, in community together, that wisdom truly only emerges from this process. I have learned powerful lessons of organizing, organizing for social justice to create consciousness, organizing to realign power, organizing to end violence against women. For those of you who are as old as me, or maybe a couple years younger, you will remember that this movement was birthed in a cauldron of very active social justice

struggles. We must remember this history. It is not an accident that we are here today. Back then the labor movement was vital in its organizing that brought workers income that was sufficient to meet the essential needs of families, a novel idea. One worker was often able to support an entire and sometimes extended family. Labor was organizing women, particularly pink collar workers. Women joined with men to assure that workers were adequately compensated, work safely, and were not exploited by owners and employers. Simultaneously, the civil rights movement was rich with organizing, and many strategies were employed. You will remember calls to smash racism, for Black power, to stop the genocide of native people, to recognize the sovereignty of Indian nations, for integrated quality schools, among many other strategies to confront racism. These strategies taught us important lessons about collective action. Simultaneously, the anti-war movement insisted that the war against the people of Viet Nam end. Many of us remember vividly the confrontation between police and war protestors at the Democratic National Convention in 1968 just 25 miles east of this auditorium. Demonstrations, pickets and marches involved broad, grass-roots organizing in every corner and community of this nation. Simultaneously, it was a rich time. Simultaneously, the anti-poverty movement was organizing with new vision and

purpose. Martin Luther King and the SCLC(?) challenge us to end poverty and build the capacity of all our people.

Women were not visible, but they were involved in all of these struggles for justice, and as women were talking about racial violence, the economic exploitation of women and other workers, militarism and imperialism, they began to hold up a mirror to these injustices and discovered or rediscovered gendered violence, men's violence against women. We again recognize that men's control over an exploitation of women was universal. We regrettably also recognized that men in these social justice struggles were largely indifferent to the oppression of women. Therefore, in churches, over kitchen tables, in political gatherings, in YWCA's, in women's clubs, women began talking about reproductive freedom, about equal pay for equal work, about wages for houseworkers, about co-parenting, and about rape and domestic violence. We then organized hotlines, safe homes, security patrols, consciousness-raising groups, transportation, respite care, and then we organized shelters, and then we organized legal reform and the huge tasks of implementation. We also organized state coalitions against domestic and sexual violence.

Tonight I'd like to honor Susan Kelly _____ and Peggy Vigary(?), both of whom are here, with whom (APPLAUSE) with whom I organized PCADV. We organized in churches,

YW's, attics, colleges and even bars. Picture 15 strange and feisty women descending on country western bars all over Pennsylvania (LAUGHTER) to dance and celebrate, interrupting the pool-playing of men in their sanctums. (LAUGHTER) We even reorganized the furniture in many of those bars to give us the collective space to cavort. (LAUGHTER) This was 1976. And then in 1978 we went national. NCADV was birthed. Washington, D.C., has not seen a day without us since. (APPLAUSE) I honor Tillie Black Bear and Debbie Niece(?) with whom I had the great privilege of birthing NCADV. (APPLAUSE) The power of our collective voices resounds throughout this nation. I honor all organizers past and present.

I am learning many lessons about racism. My first lessons in this movement were learned on the Rosebud Reservation. Tillie and the White Buffalo Calf Women's Society invited the Steering Committee of NCADV to a summer powwow in 1979, I believe it was. The invitation was a profoundly, I want to underscore that, profoundly courageous act. Imagine 25 women in a huge army tent in the middle of the Lakota Sioux, many of whom had traveled very long distances to celebrate, few of them knowing that it was going to be with us. (LAUGHTER) Some of us had never been outside of New York City except to go to Washington, D.C. (LAUGHTER) It was there that NCADV began talking about

racism, its impact on our work, and the imperative to confront racism. We began to develop a plan for leadership of women of color in NCADV. As a movement we have since developed strategies for inclusion of women of color and other cultures, leadership development, including White women stepping down, stepping aside, moving over, cultural competence, outreach to and dialogue with communities of color, resource sharing, among many other strategies. However, we have too often achieved nothing more than involving women of color and culture in the work as defined, design and implemented by White leaders.

We have not assisted migrant women to organize in their communities. We have not brokered resources for immigrant women to escape the threat of deportation. We have not been active -- (APPLAUSE). We have not been active with the African American church in America to encourage them to seek social justice and safety for women in their fellowships. We have not partnered with Indian women to assure that non-Indian men who commit violence against women on tribal lands are legally restrained or incapacitated. (APPLAUSE) We have not worked in housing projects with residents to design and implement safety strategies. We have not figured out and implemented translation services for all the women who don't speak or write in English. (APPLAUSE) We haven't mapped our communities to discover where women of color turn

for help and assistance. We don't know the informal circles of support or the cultural infrastructure of communities of color. We are not in dialogue. We don't examine how the prevention and intervention strategies designed by White privileged people may jeopardize the very safety, agency, and economic well-being of women of color. (APPLAUSE) Most of us haven't, some of us have, not enough, not very well.

We are just now beginning to learn that the strategies we've employed for White battered women may not well serve battered women of color and other cultures. (APPLAUSE) I honor those who are challenging this movement about racism and who call us to an examination of the devastating impact of our continued indifference to racist practices. I honor women of color who share their vision and work with White women and men in the movement. I honor those people of color who have grown impatient and enraged at the meager interests and efforts of White colleagues to end racism in this work. (APPLAUSE) History, and perhaps Bill Riley, call us to reflect on the movement to end violence against women. This is the first speech I ever wrote down, and if you don't like the way I deliver it, perhaps the next time you will see me will be in my more spontaneous mode, but this man seems to think that we've got to capture this stuff for history, and since many of us don't write those kinds of things down, for Bill I wrote this one down. (APPLAUSE)

This conference asks us to look forward to a new millennium in which we can and will end violence against women. As we approach a new millennium many of us want to capture this time of social revolution for history. Three expressions, and I'm sure there are many more, arose early in the movement, and I'd like us to remember these. Never another battered woman. I think it was the mass coalition that first brought us that (APPLAUSE) and that huge hand of that very powerful woman that was stopping the violence. Another was stop rape. Simple. Stop rape. The third was we can all be battered and raped, an important lesson that we in the movement have learned. More than a hundred years ago our feminist predecessors were perhaps more eloquent, literate and forward-thinking than we have been. Elizabeth Katie(?) Stanton promised. We here solemnly vow that there will never be another season of silence until women have the same rights everywhere on this green earth as man.

(APPLAUSE) Sweet Honey and the Rock has more recently proclaimed are(?) our sacred vow of struggle for justice.

_____ became an anthem of the battered women's movement. If we can get it on now -- which remains to be seen -- and when it comes on, many of you know this. I will promise to move away from the microphone so that you can sing, if you choose to, rather than having to listen to me sing this, but let us -- (SONG) (APPLAUSE) We who believe

in freedom will not rest until it comes. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAM D. RILEY: Rock the house. (LAUGHTER) I've got the easiest job. (LAUGHTER) I'm giving out awards. Tonight I'm honored and indeed privileged to give the award -- we're giving out two awards to the founding mothers, and I'm deeply moved and privileged, and I've been so honored for the last 15 years to have worked with Barbara Hart, and I've got a bio in front of me. I don't need to read that. You know Barbara Hart, what she's done. She is the founder and indeed--

... (INAUDIBLE)

WILLIAM D. RILEY: --and she's hiding.

... (INAUDIBLE)

WILLIAM D. RILEY: To Barbara Hart, as founder of the domestic violence movement, we give the Next Millennium Award. Barbara. (APPLAUSE)

BARBARA HART: Thank you. (APPLAUSE) I have nothing more to say except you are a gift to me. It is a privilege to work with you. Thank you. (APPLAUSE)

WILLIAM D. RILEY: Will Ms. Tillie Black Bear please come to the stage? (APPLAUSE) Ms. Tillie Black Bear is a member of the _____ Lakota Nation, Rosebud Sioux Tribe. (APPLAUSE) She presently serves as the Executive Director of the White Buffalo Calf Women's Society which operates the oldest

shelter on an Indian reservation in the United States, the first for women of color in the United States. Ms. Black Bear has an extensive background in working with battered women and rape victims and their children. She's a founding mother of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, as well as a founder of the South Dakota Coalition Against Domestic Violence. She is the first woman of color to chair the NCADV. Ms. Black Bear's experience includes working as a therapist, school counselor, administrator, and a college instructor. Ms. Black Bear was the recipient of an award from the Department of Justice for her work with victims of crime and was one of President Bush's points of light. She is recognized throughout the state, nationally, and in Indian country as one of the leading experts on violence against women and children, in particular, intimate partner violence. Ms. Black Bear presently serves on the Professional Advisory Board of the National Hotline in Austin, Texas. She continues to be a member of the Executive Board of the South Dakota Coalition Against Domestic Violence. Ms. Black Bear is(?) an instructor in human services _____ College, as well as being a licensed foster parent for(?) the Casey Foundation. Ms. Tillie Black Bear is indeed a mother of the movement. It's my pleasure to present the Next Millennia Award as a founding mother to Ms. Tillie Black Bear. (APPLAUSE)